

capacity until the ages of 10 or 12, but pornography unnaturally accelerates that development. By short-circuiting the normal development process and supplying misinformation about their own sexuality, pornography leaves children confused, changed, and damaged.

Mr. President, this is not what the Congress wants. This is not what the American people want. We expressed that in our debate and in our vote in the last Congress. Surely we have not come to a point in our society where we find it tolerable that any pornographer with a computer and a modem can crawl inside our children's minds and distort and corrupt their sexual development?

As if the psychological threat of pornography doesn't present a sufficient compelling interest, there is also a significant physical threat. As I have stated, pornography develops in children a distorted sexual perspective. It encourages irresponsible, dehumanized sexual behavior, conduct that presents a genuine physical threat to children. In the United States today, about one in four sexually active teenagers acquire a sexually transmitted disease every year, resulting in 3 million sexually transmitted disease cases. Infectious syphilis rates have more than doubled among teenagers since the midthirties. One million American teenage girls become pregnant each year. A report entitled "Exposure to Pornography, Character and Sexual Deviance," concluded that as more and more children become exposed not only to soft-core pornography, but also to explicit deviant sexual material, society's youth will learn an extremely dangerous message: Sex without responsibility is acceptable.

Mr. President, it is clear that early exposure to pornography presents a disturbing psychological threat to children and a disturbing physical threat. However, there is a darker and even more ominous threat, for research has established a direct link between exposure and consumption of pornography and sexual assault, rape, and molesting of children.

As stated in a publication called, "Aggressive Erotica and Violence Against Women," virtually all lab studies established a causal link between violent pornography and the commission of violence. This relationship is not seriously debated any longer in the research community. What is more, pedophiles will often use pornographic material to desensitize children to sexual activity, breaking down their resistance in order to sexually exploit them.

A study by Victor Cline found that child molesters often use pornography to seduce their prey, to lower the inhibitions of the victim, and as an instruction manual. Further, a W.L. Marshall study found that "87 percent of female child molesters and 77 percent of male child molesters studied admitted to regular use of hard-core pornography."

Mr. President, all you have to do is pick up the telephone and call the FBI, ask their child exploitation task force about the volume of over-the-Internet attempts to seduce, abuse, and lure children into pornography and sexual exploitation.

I could go on and on, Mr. President, citing these studies, but there is really no need to do that. The evidence is clear. The compelling interest of the Government in restricting children's access to pornography is beyond credible dispute, both morally and legally.

The Communications Decency Act is a narrowly tailored law, designed to protect children from the pornography that is so widely available and easily accessed on the Internet. As I have said, it is a simple extension of the constitutional restrictions on such material that exist today in every other communications medium in our society.

The Communications Decency Act provides for the prosecution of those who utilize an interactive computer device to send indecent material to a child or uses an interactive computer device to display indecent material in a manner easily accessible to a child.

In addition, the Communications Decency Act encourages blocking software and other technologies by providing good-faith defenses designed to protect the good Samaritan attempting to block or screen pornographic material.

However, ultimately, it preserves the constitutionally established principle that pornography should be walled off from our children. To overturn the Communications Decency Act would represent a fundamental shift in paradigm, throwing our children into a hostile sea of pornography that threatens their psychological and physical well-being. I am confident that the Court will not be so callous with the basic well-being of our children.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a list of organizations in support of this brief to the Supreme Court in the case of Janet Reno, et al. versus American Civil Liberties Union, et al. be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Brief Amici Curiae of Enough Is Enough, the Salvation Army, National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc., the National Council of Catholic Women, Victims' Assistance Legal Organization, Childhelp USA, Legal Pad Enterprises, Inc., Focus on the Family, the National Coalition for the Protection of Children and Families (and other amici . . . ) in support of appellants.

#### CPI ADJUSTMENT

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I want to call the attention of the Senate to an article that appeared in the March 13 edition of the Washington Post, headlined, "President Won't Back CPI Panel." This article discusses President Clinton's decision to not go forward with establishing an independent panel to examine the cost-of-living ad-

justments for Social Security and other Federal benefits. I think that is an unfortunate development because, clearly, there is bipartisan support for that effort. Members of both the Republican and Democrat Parties are on record and have made public statements saying that they believe this effort ought to go forward, whether it is an effort undertaken by a commission, or whether it is something that we engage in ourselves or ask the executive branch to do by Executive order.

Clearly, we are faced with a situation where we have to step forward, to lead, to address one of the most fundamental of all structural reforms necessary to curb the unchecked growth of entitlements.

Beginning with his State of the Union Address, the President has been telling the Congress and the American public of his desire to sit down and work out a solution to the coming entitlement crisis, and we have responded on our side by saying that we are willing to do this. In fact, in our budget last year, we recommended and voted for doing this. But now it seems obvious that, for some reason, the administration, the President and his party—and, frankly, a number of interest groups who have so much influence among those who oppose entitlement reform—plan to return to the same kind of rhetoric on Medicare and Social Security, and the same political tactics that serve to undermine the very health of the programs that they purport to protect.

Well, we don't have to go very far, Mr. President, to find out what the intention of the President and his party is in this regard, thanks to a former assistant to the President, Mr. Harold Ickes. In a pile of documents that Mr. Ickes recently submitted to the House committee investigating illegal activities at the White House, there was a revealing memo.

Rich Lowry, of the New Republic, recently reported that a February 1995 memo that Mr. Ickes sent to the President included "a proposed direct mail appeal to be sent by the Democratic National Committee over [the chairman's] signature, focusing on the Republican proposal to recalculate the inflation rate, thereby reducing COLA payments on Social Security benefits."

The memo then goes on to provide a draft of the proposed letter giving some insight into the scare tactics that have been the signature of the DNC, the President, and organizations like the AARP, which refers to the CPI fix as "a cowardly, back-door political gimmick to take tens of billions of dollars out of the pockets of senior citizens."

This is familiar verbiage and familiar rhetoric. We have seen it now in campaign after campaign over the last decade. We heard it in last year's Medicare reform debate.

The letter goes on to say, "If the Republicans can force the Federal Government to lower its estimate of inflation, then they can dramatically reduce the cost-of-living-adjustments received by every Social Security recipient in America."

I ask, where is the bipartisanship in this statement? It is hardly a reference to what the President has been saying in terms of sitting down and working together to address a very real problem. And it is hardly an indication of how we had hoped to move forward addressing some of the serious problems in the Medicare trust fund and the Social Security system. One has to question how serious the President, and his party, really are about meaningful entitlement reform if they intend to continue to frighten seniors rather than honestly addressing the problem.

Mr. Ickes' proposed fundraising letter goes on to state, "We cannot remain silent while the new Congress finances another round of tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans by reducing the hard-earned benefits received by older Americans." The letter provides a preprepared petition to be sent to the then majority leader, Bob Dole, and Speaker NEWT GINGRICH saying, "I am outraged at the Republican plan to use phony inflation estimates to reduce the Social Security COLA's of America's senior citizens."

So the question here is, Is the President of the United States willing to step apart from the recommendations and rhetoric of his own party? Is he willing to step forward and provide leadership, as I think any President should, particularly when not facing reelection, on one of the most fundamental problems that we have as a nation and agree to a bipartisan process to preserve Social Security and reform Medicare for the long run? In President Clinton's State of the Union Address to the Congress, the President said, "We must agree to a bipartisan process to preserve Social Security and reform Medicare for the long run . . ." And Republicans, who had just been hammered to death over proposing that very same concept a year before, said, "Well, the problem is big enough that you are right. We ought to do that. Even though we may have a right to feel pretty bitter about how that effort was used against us electorally, we think it is important enough for this Nation that we ought to go ahead. So we will reach out in a bipartisan fashion."

So it is extremely disappointing to read here—I hope it is wrong but I think it is correct—that the President has abandoned his efforts at providing leadership for structural reforms within the Social Security and Medicare trust funds. But the President is not alone in his cynical attempt to scare our senior citizens.

I want to conclude my remarks by addressing another institution that has undermined our ability to accomplish what everybody knows we need to ac-

complish. No group has played a more destructive nor a more deceptive role in entitlement reform than the American Association of Retired Persons, known as the AARP. We know the AARP is that wonderful organization that only charges I think \$8 to join once you reach the age of 50. I must admit I was a little shocked when I got my first mailing from the AARP. I think I was 45 when the first mailing came saying you are approaching senility here, and you had better join our group. I said, "I am not old enough for this. I thought retirement was 65 and over." But the AARP has wisely, from a financial standpoint, reached down and convinced people that at the age of 50 and lower they can take advantage of the benefits offered to the AARP. I am not ready to concede that I am ready for those benefits, although they are pretty attractive. For that 8 bucks you get access to all kinds of things.

But the problem is that on the issue most fundamental to the future of this country and to the future of senior citizens—Medicare and Social Security—the AARP takes a totally disingenuous, plays a totally deceptive role, a destructive role in terms of our ability to try to preserve those trust funds for future users and future beneficiaries.

We know that a train wreck is coming on entitlements. How do we know that? We know that because the board of trustees that included, at the time, three members of the President's Cabinet told us that this train wreck was coming. They told us that there is an urgent problem that we need to address on a bipartisan basis. And they told us that we cannot be prey to the political ranting and raving of self-serving organizations like the AARP. Robert Rubin, the Secretary of the Treasury, Robert Reich, then Secretary of Labor, Donna Shalala, Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, Shirley Chater, the Commissioner of Social Security, and the Acting Principal Deputy Commissioner of Social Security, told us, "Folks, there is a train wreck coming. You have your head in the sand. You are letting political demagoguery deter you from doing what you have to do. If you want to preserve Social Security, if you want to preserve Medicare and the benefits in Medicare, you have to get hold of this out-of-control entitlement process." We all know that.

Medicare part A is scheduled to be bankrupt—bankrupt—by the year 2002. The Social Security trust fund will begin running a deficit at 2013 and collapse by 2029.

That is not political rhetoric. Those are the conclusions of a distinguished panel of trustees that studied the system. And it comes out of this administration. It is not a group of Republican conservatives trying to kneecap the Social Security system. These are responsible people appointed by the President to serve on this panel. They are his own people. Yet, we go careen-

ing from election to election totally ignoring these warnings, knowing that somebody is going to have to pay an enormous price in the future, knowing that we are undermining the very system that we say we are trying to preserve.

And the group that is most responsible for putting pressure on us, politically demagoging this issue, is the American Association of Retired Persons. They continue to tell their members that there is nothing wrong with Social Security, that there is nothing wrong with Medicare, that there is no crisis. They continue to press Congress to block any solution. The AARP, the second-largest nonprofit organization in America, second only to the Catholic church, has a staff of 1,700 people funded by the dues of 33 million members along with \$191 million in profits earned through the sale of insurance policies, mutual funds, mail-order pharmaceuticals, automobile rentals, automobile club memberships, Visa and Mastercard credit cards, and hotel room discount packages, and so forth. That is OK. I am glad they are in that business. I am glad they are providing those benefits to the seniors. Their expressed purpose is to serve the needs and interests of our Nation's elderly.

But, Mr. President, the only thing we hear up here from the AARP, other than requests for membership dues, is, if we dare even speak about addressing the problems of Medicare and Social Security, they are going to go after us politically.

Now we have this looming disaster with Medicare and Social Security. Once again, the AARP is joining hands with those who oppose the system to terrorize our Nation's seniors.

In a recent *Insight* magazine article, Horace Deets, the AARP's executive director, is quoted as saying: "Social Security has worked well for 60 years, and there is no reason to believe that it is on the verge of bankruptcy . . . Social Security continues to work efficiently and effectively . . . Social Security does work." Where has Mr. Deets been? What does this man read? Has he read the trustees' report? Has he read this impressive document that has looked into this on an actuarially sound basis? Has he read the recommendations and conclusions that the whole thing is to come a cropper, that the very people he represents are going to be hurt badly unless we do something now, that we are heading for a train wreck?

I think maybe Mr. Deets should spend less time trying to collect dues from people and take a little time to read the trustees report on the future of Social Security and join us in a responsible effort which the trustees say will hurt less if we do it now, but is going to hurt greatly if we wait until later.

We cannot afford to wait. We cannot afford to pretend there is nothing wrong when everybody knows that is not the case. The changes we make

now could be phased in over a period of time and would have minimal impact. But if we wait and follow Mr. Deets' advice, keep our head in the sand and pretend that there is no problem, it is going to come as a great shock and a great surprise to the 33 million people who rely on their AARP mailings when they find out that their own organization has led them down a blind ally, their own organization has sold them out, sold out to a political process that goes against the very best interests of their members.

Mr. President, I am disappointed by the action of the President. I am disappointed but not surprised. As a recent Washington Post editorial stated, you believe this White House "at your peril." With the AARP driving the politics and the decisions of the President and his party, I am sure we can anticipate even more fear mongering on entitlement reform. But ultimately we are going to have to find solutions to these problems. I fear that this difficult process will be made even more complicated by an unprincipled and a timid administration and a deceitful and self-serving American Association of Retired Persons.

Mr. President, with that I yield the floor.

Mr. CHAFEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

(The remarks of Mr. CHAFEE pertaining to the introduction of S. 445 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, there are several matters I would like to bring up, if I could. I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business so as not to interrupt the flow of the debate on the pending matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### WENDELL FORD

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay a special tribute to one of the U.S. Senate's most revered and remarkable Members. I speak of our senior Senator and our friend from Kentucky, WENDELL FORD.

Mr. President, I should note on a personal level I was a law student in Kentucky when WENDELL FORD was Governor of the State of Kentucky, and I developed a fondness and affection for him from afar as a student in that State at the University of Louisville many years ago. I had an opportunity to watch this man preside over State government in the State of Kentucky. He did a remarkable job. In those days I never thought, as I was sitting there as a student, that one day I would be serving in the U.S. Senate with him and calling him my colleague and my friend. It is with bittersweet emotions and sensations here that I rise to recognize, as others already have, that

WENDELL FORD, as we all know, has announced he will not seek reelection in 1998 and will be retiring from the U.S. Senate.

I say bittersweet because on the one hand I am confident that our friend WENDELL FORD and his lovely wife Jean will enjoy some years of retirement, away from the hectic life of public service. So I am glad for him and glad for his wife and for his family. Obviously, on another level, I think all of us would agree, regardless of political persuasion or ideology, that we have come to develop a deep and sincere affection for WENDELL FORD. He will be truly missed in this body.

Just this past Monday, as of course we all know, Senator FORD announced his intention to retire from the U.S. Senate at the end of this term, concluding what I think has been one of the most remarkable and distinguished careers in the history of Kentucky. WENDELL FORD served his fellow Kentuckians for the past 30 years, first in the State senate of that State, then in the Governors Mansion, as I have already mentioned, and finally here in the U.S. Senate, where he has been a Member for the past 22 years. By the time he completes his term in 1999, WENDELL FORD will be the longest serving U.S. Senator in the history of the State of Kentucky.

Throughout my tenure as U.S. Senator, it has been my great honor to serve alongside this remarkable man. He has brought integrity and honesty and a wonderful sense of humor to a body that is far too often devoid of such characteristics. Although narrow and snappy sound bites and polished television appearances seem to garner the most attention in Washington, WENDELL FORD stands in sharp contrast. As long as I have known him, WENDELL FORD never saw a television camera he didn't want to simply walk past. As always, he is more interested in working behind the scenes, crafting legislation, seeking coalitions, seeking compromises. This is the essence of making the Senate function as a body that requires that we get along and work together to seek solutions that Americans look for.

Certainly WENDELL FORD is capable of being outspoken and passionate and as resolute as any Member of this body, but he has also understood there is a time for politics and a time for legislating and the two shall rarely intertwine, in his view. Throughout his career, he remained true to the people and places of his beloved Kentucky. Few Senators fought harder for their States than WENDELL has. As a Member of the subcommittee on aviation issues, he helped bring two international airports to Louisville and northern Kentucky. During the debate in the last Congress on the telecommunications bill, Senator FORD sought to ensure that the interests of rural communities all across America, such as those in his home State, would receive the attention that they deserve. On a

national level as well, he has been a leader in aviation, energy, campaign finance issues, and his efforts have been instrumental in expanding airport improvement programs and other critical civil and Federal aviation issues.

As chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing, Senator FORD has helped cut millions of dollars in Government printing costs. What is more, he has spearheaded greater use of recycled paper by the Federal Government. These issues don't always get as much attention as they should, but certainly, as all of us appreciate as we try to reduce the cost of Federal Government to make it more efficient, things like bringing down the costs of printing, which is voluminous at Federal Government level, and to also see that recycled paper is used, are no small efforts indeed.

I know the major issue for many Americans, of course, was WENDELL FORD's effort to spearhead motor voter registration, which has made it possible for millions of Americans to become enfranchised. He certainly will be remembered for years to come for those efforts as well.

I know that bill had a special significance for WENDELL FORD because it gave him a chance to appear on MTV's Rock The Vote. WENDELL FORD is certainly an MTV kind of Senator. As most of us would appreciate, I say that with a sense of humor, to all who know and love him.

Most of all, I think WENDELL FORD has brought a sense of quiet dignity and forthrightness to this Chamber. Always, he kept his word, never betrayed a confidence, and I doubt there is a Member of this Chamber who will not miss his presence.

It is worth noting, the other day an editorial in the Lexington Herald-Leader, I think, summed up the feelings all of us would have with the announcement that WENDELL FORD will not be with us at the end of this Congress. Let me quote that editorial. It said:

We have known people who have disagreed with Wendell Ford. We have seen people get mad at Wendell Ford. We have even heard of people who wish Wendell Ford would finally lose an election. We have never heard of anyone, however, who doesn't like the senior Senator from Kentucky.

Certainly if that is true in the State of Kentucky, it is true in the U.S. Senate as well. We will miss him and we wish him and his wife, Jean, the very best in the years to come.

#### CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in his recent announcement that our friend from Kentucky, WENDELL FORD, will retire at the end of the term, he said something very instructive and most of us may recall it. It was only a few days ago. Those who love and know the Senator knows he never fails to be instructive in his uniquely witty way. The Senator from Kentucky said one major